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Human Events

YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XIX, No. 49 December 8, 1962 Section 1 — News

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Cuba: Last week, President Kennedy congratulated Air Force and other military units which had been involved in watching Castro during the recent (and continuing) crisis. The occasion for his speech was a "victory parade" of these units celebrating, presumably, a victory over not only Castro but also Khrushchev. Ironically, Kennedy in his address intimated that the crisis might go on for a decade.

Capitol Hill wryly noted the question in a New York *Daily News* editorial: "What victory was JFK celebrating?"

Many members of Congress observe that Khrushchev's 30 or more medium bombers have not yet been removed from Cuba. His 42 missiles may or may not have been pulled out. No one knows, for there has been no on-site-inspection proof that their nuclear warheads went with them.

At the same time as JFK's parade, Khrushchev's hatchet man Mikoyan, after three weeks conferring with Castro, voiced the conclusion that "the cause of Cuba is the cause of the Soviet Union" and Moscow is Cuba's "friend and protector." Thus the Kremlin remains in possession of a beachhead in the Western Hemisphere (see "Cuban Current Goes Awry," page 937).

However, the "dream" boys around Kennedy persist in "victory parades" and other publicity stunts which are now known as "managed news." (This description arose when Defense Department press chief Arthur Sylvester baldly defended censorship and government utilization of news as a "weapon.")

One of the latest phenomena in this field of "weaponry" was a story by a wire-service pundit which was obviously inspired by the government. It suggested that the cold war is ending with Khrushchev literally fading away. American newspapers checking on European reaction to this little yarn discovered that Western Europe can't see it that way.

Crosby Noyes, Paris correspondent of the Washington *Evening Star*, tartly commented: "One can only devoutly hope that this presumably well-informed ray of sunshine in Washington knows what he's talking about. And note at the same time that his outlook is not universally shared by observers in this part of the world" where the reception is "politely skeptical."

In contrast, the *Star* correspondent finds life real and earnest in happenings in both Paris and Bonn —the axis on which Free Europe turns. It's been moving quite contrary to the direction predicted by many American newspapers. Those who bought the "managed news" about the political future of Adenauer and de Gaulle fell flat on their faces.

Despite intimations of an early political demise of Der Alte circulated in New York and Washington, he won a considerable victory in last week's Bavarian election. And de Gaulle won the biggest parliamentary election victory since 1871, when the Third Republic was founded. Thus, alone among Allied leaders, de Gaulle and Adenauer won elections.

The French President—observes Diplomatic Row in Washington—emerges as literally seven feet tall on the world scene. He is also—it should be recalled—the leader who, despite pressure from Washington, firmly refused to negotiate on Berlin with Khrushchev.

Significantly, on the morrow of his victory, Premier Macmillan sought an appointment to see de Gaulle. After that key parley, he will cross the Atlantic to see Kennedy.

Diplomats predict: De Gaulle, not Kennedy, will henceforth dominate the Free World diplomatic warfare against the Red Axis.

The Hand of Rockefeller: Political pros see the hand of Nelson Rockefeller behind some unfounded attacks last week on the GOP National Committee and Senator Barry Goldwater. *Advance*, an obscure publication published by Harvard alumni, financed by pro-Rockefeller supporters and describing itself as holding "progressive" Republican views, sharply criticized the GOP—Goldwater in particular—for wooing voters south of the Mason-Dixon Line, even though the party made spectacular gains there.

The Republicans, so the journal charged, were "hitching the party wagon to the falling star of segregation."

While these charges received front-page publicity in the liberal press, they held little water, as GOP leaders so amply proved. Senator Goldwater (who personally opposes segregation) was quick to point

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out that segregation was not a "major issue" in any 1962 race he was aware of. GOP National Committee Chairman William E. Miller—coming from Rockefeller's New York—echoed similar views.

Representative Bob Wilson (Calif.), Chairman of the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee, characterized the attacks by *Advance* as "irresponsible and unfair." Republican gains in the South, he said, "were not based on a racial appeal at all, but on economic conservatism and the caliber of the Republican candidates." (See "GOP in Dixie" below.)

Why such nation-wide fanfare over statements printed in a little-known quarterly published by a just-turned-22-year-old Harvard graduate?

Political experts see in the attack, and in the country-wide publicity given it, a liberal attempt to discredit Goldwater and remove his strong conservative voice from the councils of the GOP. *Advance's* publisher, Bruce Chapman, has long worn the mantle of Rockefeller liberalism: He headed the abortive National Students for Rockefeller in 1960 and launched his small-time quarterly (only 3,500 subscribers) with a $500 contribution from Rocky's brother, David. Chapman's magazine has been consistently anti-Goldwater and a veritable mischief-maker for the Republican party; witness the March issue blasting both Senate and House minority leaders Dirksen and Halleck.

Yet the most significant part of *Advance's* attack may be its timing—the day after the newly-formed National Republican Citizens Committee opened its doors in the Commonwealth Building in the Capital.

Formed in July and allegedly designed to help the GOP sell the "Republican philosophy of government" to independents and Democrats, the committee—stacked with "modern" Republicans—is considered by many to be a pro-Rockefeller front. Senator Goldwater charged last July that its leaders "contributed to the divisive tactics of the 1960 campaign . . . and caused most of our present party troubles."

Two members of this citizens committee—it has been noted—are warm supporters of *Advance*: Walter N. Thayer, of the New York *Herald Tribune*, and New York lawyer John Loeb, Jr. Loeb is the largest single financial contributor to *Advance*.

GOP in Dixie: Republican liberals, including New York's Senator Jacob Javits, last week found themselves in the peculiar role of mounting an attack against a successful GOP campaign strategy which enabled Republicans to make deep inroads into traditionally solid Democratic territory.

Liberals claim the Republican battle cry below the Mason-Dixon Line was "segregation." Actually, close analysis of the southern campaign proves this charge false.

GOP wins in Dixie, says GOP Chairman William E. Miller, resulted from appeals to the "fiscal conservatism" of the voters.

The real reason—say the pros—why "modern" Republicans have raised the segregation charge is to smokescreen the fact that the GOP made clear-cut gains in the South by sticking to conservative principles.

In the Senate race in Alabama, where small businessman James Martin came within an eyelash of upsetting Democratic incumbent Lister Hill, a thorough study reveals that segregation played a minor role. The political coordinator for the GOP in Alabama, Vern Stephens, notes in his recently released report on the campaign that Democrat Hill ran on a "white supremacy" ticket, and taunted the GOP for putting up a Negro candidate for the George state senate. While Bobby Kennedy's actions in Mississippi may have "solidified our vote," says Stephens, it in no way "produced it."

Martin's surprising near-upset came, instead, as a result of his centering his attack on Hill's voting record. The Democrat's support of aid to Communist countries, his vote for the United Nations bond issue and his support of the first 53 of the 59 bills proposed by the Kennedy Administration particularly hurt him, said Stephens.

"The Kennedy Administration was like a millstone around his neck," Stephens reported, "and at the close he was violently protesting that he was not a Kennedy follower."

But why didn't the GOP candidate obtain the shift of 3,500 votes necessary for him to win? The Stephens report says the people of Alabama did not know how liberal Hill's policies and voting record were. "Had we received any financial help from outside Alabama"—says the report—"Martin would have won. We were forced to cancel a 250,000-piece mailing which concentrated on Hill's voting record. We also lacked money to hire watchers at the polls. Republicans outside Alabama could not believe that we had a chance to win. The lack of funds to run a top-flight campaign should be a lesson to Republicans."

Education: Conservatives are far from happy about the President's appointment of Francis Keppel, Dean of Harvard University's Graduate School of Education, to the position of United States Commissioner of Education.

The newly-designated commissioner holds the remarkable view that "freedom in education" can be strengthened through federal spending on elementary, secondary and higher educational institutions. If we "strengthen" these particular institutions, he said last week, "then we have no reason to fear what has been called 'federal control.'"

Indeed, the Dean obviously has no fear of federal control since he was a member of a Kennedy-appointed task force in 1960 which recommended the federal government spend $2.3 billion a year on education.

Those who had hoped that the new commissioner wouldn't be tied closely to the powerful National Education Association lobby—which has long sought government direction of education—will be sorely

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disappointed. The NEA, which previous education commissioner Dr. Sterling M. McMurrin warned was fast moving toward "national control of education," is a strong booster of Keppel and vice versa.

Keppel, in fact, is an NEA member in good standing. He is chairman of its International Relations Committee and was from 1953 to 1956 a member of its National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards. According to NEA's executive-secretary, William G. Carr, Kennedy has "designated for the office a man fully committed to a sound program of national school legislation."

Labor: The Administration has been trying to bludgeon Lockheed Aircraft Company into accepting recommendations of a Presidential board which could force, through rigged election procedures, compulsory unionism upon all union-eligible Lockheed employes. At the present time, approximately 30 per cent of the company's employes belong to a union.

Last week the Defense Department's "information" officer, Arthur Sylvester—who thinks news is a "weapon"—told reporters in a background briefing that from here on out all contracts awarded Lockheed would have to be approved by the secretaries of the various military branches, an extraordinary ruling which no reporter at the briefing could recall ever having heard of before.

The "ruling" Sylvester announced put the power of awarding contracts into the hands of politically-appointed secretaries, taking it from the hands of those lower-level special agencies in the Defense Department which know what company can best supply what the Department needs.

The fact that this "ruling" would even apply to Lockheed plants *not* facing strikes utterly disproves Sylvester's claim the new procedures were necessary to "protect the flow of vital equipment to the Defense Department."

Again, chief censor Sylvester censors the truth. As the Washington *Daily News* commented editorially, "Lockheed doesn't agree with the White House, so it feels the Administration's wrath."

• In a further development, the President late last week invoked Taft-Hartley labor machinery to solve the union-called strike at Lockheed. Observers point out this is what JFK should have done at the outset. Instead, of course, he appointed the special "Taylor" board which handed down pro-union recommendations used to coerce the aerospace industries into accepting compulsory unionism.

Budget Buster Bell: Fiscal conservatives may yet mourn the Administration's dumping of Fowler Hamilton as head of the foreign aid agency (AID) which last year spent $3.9 billion of taxpayers' funds.

While this would hardly mark Hamilton's spending policies as frugal, guesses in the Capital are he may soon be remembered as a Scrooge compared to David E. Bell, Kennedy's current Budget Director who was named by JFK to replace Hamilton as head of AID last week.

As Budget Director, Bell called for a policy of "planned deficits" and claimed last June the Kennedy budget for this year—now running $7.8 billion into the red—was "too conservative." Senator Harry F. Byrd (D.-Va.), Chairman of the Finance Committee, went so far as to call for Bell's resignation in a speech on the Senate floor this fall.

That Bell will hardly be restrained in lavishing taxpayers' money on foreign countries is indicated by his commencement address of June 11, 1961, to students at Pomona College in California.

Said Bell: "Plainly we could raise the amount of resources we are devoting to foreign aid, even to *double* its present level, without serious strain on the budget . . . I conclude, therefore, that . . . we would be well advised to increase our help if more resources can be used productively."

The Scripps-Howard Washington *Daily News* editorially called Bell's appointment "an amazingly bad choice" and asked the Senate not to confirm it.

Tax Cut? Robert A. Taft, Jr., was following in the footsteps of his famous father recently when he demanded fiscal responsibility from the Administration in its proposed new tax "reform" program.

The newly-elected Ohio GOP Representative-at-large said it would be a "mistake to go ahead with a tax cut without a cut in the expenditure level." Thus he echoed the growing sentiments of a number of lawmakers, including Senate Finance Committee Chairman Harry F. Byrd (D.-Va.) and the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.).

Observers note, however, the Administration is being conspicuously silent about promising spending cuts. Speaking before a recent meeting of 170 influential business, union and professional leaders in Washington, both Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon and the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Walter W. Heller, promised large tax cuts for both corporations and individuals, but said virtually nothing about cutting government expenditures or reducing the debt, predicted to balloon at least another $7.8 billion by the end of this fiscal year, June 30, 1963.

Those who attended, however, say a large number of the conferees who participated in special study groups were outspoken in demanding spending cuts by the Administration.

Backyard Setback: Living under the shadow of the Capitol dome, the voters of Maryland's Montgomery County handed the New Frontier one of the worst defeats it suffered anywhere in the recent

THE REV. THEODORE A. MARTIN, Trinity Lutheran Church, Clinton, Massachusetts: "HUMAN EVENTS is excellent, a great help in one's efforts to lead people to think and understand what's going on. It reports what most people never find out."

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elections. In Montgomery County, which borders on the District of Columbia, federal employes constitute almost a quarter of the electorate and many of them are active in ultra-liberal activities.

Republicans, aided by conservative Democrats, won control of the county council after eight years of liberal Democratic monopoly and took over the county's delegation to the Maryland General Assembly. Every liberal Democrat, on every level of government, was defeated; only those Democrats endorsed by a conservative, bi-partisan committee were elected. Only one member of the Democratic statewide ticket carried the county, and he barely squeaked through by 1,000 votes.

The upset was triggered by a revolt against high taxes, made especially vivid by a sharp hike in the real estate tax approved by the Democratic county council just before elections. Democrats claimed that the increased funds were necessary for school expenses. The voters responded to this by defeating four incumbent members of the county board of education and electing in their place four economy-minded, anti-progressive-education candidates, three of whom were indorsed by Americans for Constitutional Action. Many well-known New Frontier figures, including Ethel Kennedy, wife of the Attorney General, campaigned for the liberal Democrats in the county.

Spending: Citing increased defense expenditures as the chief reason higher spending supposedly is "inevitable," Administration officials claim that —despite the predicted large budget deficit—there is "simply no possibility" of a slash in expenditures to correspond to the deep tax cut they advocate.

Said Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon: ". . . defense and space expenditures will rise substantially in 1964 . . . our commitments to the defense and development of the Free World, coupled with the current state of our economy, will mean a further deficit in fiscal 1964."

Economy advocates on Capitol Hill, however, recall Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's statement in July—praised by President Kennedy—that military spending could be cut by $3 billion a year within five years and that actions his department had already taken would assure defense savings of $750 million by July, 1963.

Furthermore, these economy-minded observers point out, the Cuban crisis cannot now be used as an excuse for higher defense spending since the Budget Bureau has estimated its cost—assuming the situation gets no worse—at only $100 million. Said the Bureau in its November 13 review of the fiscal 1963 budget, "The current estimate of expenditures for the military function of the Department of Defense is the same as the January estimate."

Capitol Camera: Secretary of State Dean Rusk recently spoke to the ultra-left-wing Foreign Policy Association and indicated the US might very well reach a peaceful settlement with the Soviet Union on a broad range of issues. A few days later, Khrushchev doubled-crossed the United States for the umpteenth time. While K promised to end Soviet atmospheric nuclear tests on November 20, US officials reported that the Soviets have continued their nuclear testing—without informing anyone—at the rate of one every two days.

• *Before his recent visit to the United States, German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer expressed grave doubt whether Soviet Russia has removed its missiles from Cuba. In comments to reporters in Bonn, the Chancellor said he found it hard to believe that Soviet Premier Khrushchev took the trouble of sending missiles, atomic warheads and other material to Cuba only to "pack them up again like shirts and a toothbrush." If Khrushchev wants negotiations with the West, Adenauer said, he must agree to ground control in Cuba—a justified United States demand. So far, no on-site inspections have been made.*

• The National Commander of the American Legion, James E. Powers stated last week the Communist Cuban government must be eliminated, by direct military intervention if necessary. Powers said that for the present the US should attempt to topple Castro by "tightening economic sanctions against Cuba" and providing "greater technical and logistical support for the Cuban resistance groups."

• *Representative H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) predicts that with or without a tax cut "the Kennedy Administration will seek still another increase in the federal debt ceiling in 1963." The ceiling already has been raised three times since Kennedy took office and now stands at $308 billion—an all-time high.*

• Pollster Lou Harris of New York, who worked for JFK in 1960, told Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalism society, at its recent Tulsa, Oklahoma, convention: "I'd make a guess right now that the 1964 Presidential election is up for grabs." His reason: the GOP showings November 6 in some traditionally Democratic cities and in the South. Harris also conceded that JFK's action in the Cuban crisis helped Democratic candidates last month.

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HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

President Kennedy has three alternatives concerning Cuba: He can send his father, Joseph P. Kennedy, down there to buy it. He can send Billie Sol Estes to steal it. Or, he can send Harry Truman to tell them what they can do with it.

—Cocktail Circuit Wisecrack.

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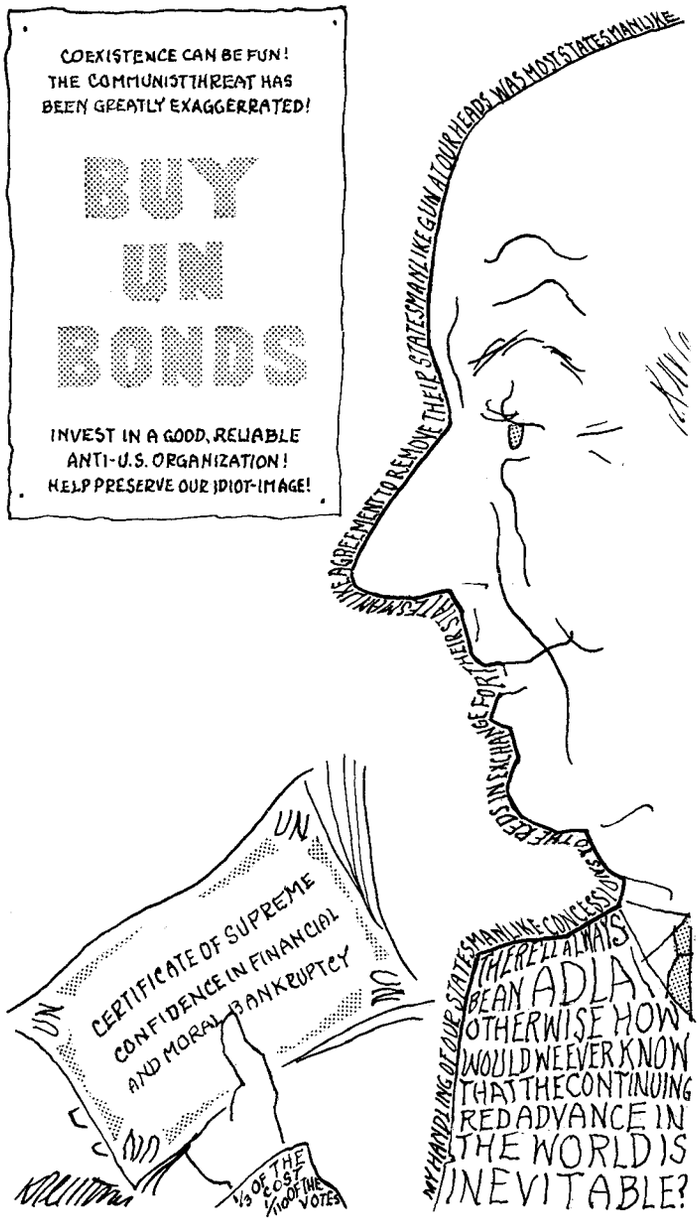
Profiles in Newfrontery

No. 4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THE COMMUNIST THREAT HAS
BEEN GREATLY EXAGGERRATED!
BUY
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INVEST IN A GOOD, RELIABLE
ANTI-U.S. ORGANIZATION!
HELP PRESERVE OUR IDIOT-IMAGE!
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THERE'LL ALWAYS BE AN ADLAI OTHERWISE HOW WOULD WE EVER KNOW THAT THE CONTINUING RED ADVANCE IN THE WORLD IS INEVITABLE?

JFK's Pork Barrel

From the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*

Usually the members of Congress fill up their own pork barrel, carefully stashing away packages for this district and packages for that. But this year Congress authorized President Kennedy to distribute the pork as he sees fit—$900 million worth of it—the only restriction being that the money must be spent in the so-called depressed areas and those having 6 per cent or more unemployment in nine of the last 12 months.

The money is to be spent for such things as airports, highways, hospitals, water pollution control and community facilities, presumably including such things as ski slides, the emphasis being on projects that could be started quickly.

We have some doubts as to whether areas which are now depressed could be changed into areas that are not depressed by the construction of such projects as these. Presumably they would provide work for the building trades and material dealers while the construction was in progress, but we don't know what good an airport would do in a depressed area if no planes landed on it, or how such an area would benefit from a highway which nobody used.

Of one thing we can be pretty sure, however: The money will be spent where the votes are.

The Way to Progress

From *Right To Work National Newsletter*

Statistics obtained from official sources from throughout the Nation by the Research Department, Valley National Bank, Phoenix, Arizona, show that right-to-work states in the 15-year period, 1946-61, led the Nation in the creation of new industrial jobs. In fact, of the 10 leading states, six were right-to work states. Arizona led with a gain of 314 per cent in the number of new industrial jobs created; Florida was second; Utah, third. Other right-to-work states among the first 10 were Nevada, Texas and Arkansas.

THE ROAD TO HIGHER TAXES—"Calvin Coolidge once remarked: 'Nothing is easier than spending public money. It does not appear to belong to anybody. The temptation is overwhelming to bestow it on somebody.' The rate of spending by the federal government has increased 21 per cent since the Kennedy Administration took over." (Indianapolis Star)

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Committee Chairmen

The Clark Plan

From the San Diego *Union*

It is no secret that the Administration and many liberal congressmen are unhappy because Administration programs did not do better in the 87th Congress.

The Administration and the liberal congressmen are planning to do everything in their power to see that the programs are adopted in the 88th Congress.

One plan is to bypass the conservatives by stealing the power of congressional committee chairmen. This plan may be popular because it appears to be bipartisan in effect. But what it would do, of course, would be to weaken the power of conservatives of both parties.

A bill introduced by Senator Joseph S. Clark (D.-Pa.), before Congress adjourned, would require committees to report out all legislative requests submitted by the President before July 4. And it would authorize committee members to choose their chairmen by secret ballot at the opening of each new Congress and would require all chairmen to retire at age 70.

This latter requirement would depose such men as Virginia's Harry F. Byrd of the Senate Finance Committee, A. Willis Robertson of the Banking and Currency Committee and Carl Vinson (D.-Ga.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

BYRD

ROBERTSON

VINSON

Currently, committee chairmen are chosen by seniority. The secret ballot would upset this system.

Even as the Administration talks about tax cuts, it will be looking for ways to push spending bills past the financial conservatives.

This is economy?

Something for the Birds

From the Los Angeles *Times*

The handouts (press releases, that is) from members of Congress provide some of the most fascinating and amusing examples of the legislative mind at work.

We submit as evidence the lengthy, straight-faced announcement by Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr., (D.-N.J.) that on October 1 he introduced a bill providing $250,000 to initiate a "national blackbird control program."

Blackbirds, said the Senator, are one of New Jersey's most serious farm problems. But rather than let the New Jersey Legislature cope with the threat, Senator Williams set about to establish the national significance of this terrible avian menace.

What followed in Williams' statement was a textbook example of how to federalize a local problem. Any subject could be substituted.

The Senator said he agreed that "the problem be attacked at the national level, since this job cannot be done by New Jersey alone."

Blackbirds, he pointed out, are no observers of state lines. And to compound the problem, these birds are no longer frightened by the traditional scarecrow.

It is, in short, according to Senator Williams, "a truly national problem."

Warming to his task, the New Jersey Senator explained a blackbird control bill might serve "as an important precedent in providing a frame of reference for the Congress in determining whether or not a problem is of national scope and therefore warrants federal action."

He somehow then flew to his own urban areas transportation bill as an example of a blackbird-like national problem.

The bill for the birds, the Senator concluded, would thus provide a "useful guideline for applying the philosophy of proper federal-state-local responsibilities . . ." And he was closer to the truth than he realized as shown by his concluding statement:

"The modest amount of money in this bill is what the farmers of my state believe would represent an effective beginning . . . [I] do not know what the ultimate cost of the control problem might be."

What Is Plumbicare?

(This bit of humor—in one form or another—is getting widespread distribution and producing laughter throughout the United States.)

Plumbicare is a plan by which we can save through social security for our old-age plumbing bills. It is a known fact that people over 65 have more plumbing trouble than do younger people.

Under the Plumbicare plan, all of the plumbing bills of those over 65 would be paid. The whole thing would be financed by social security. We all know that many senior citizens are poverty stricken, and we would not want them to be faced by staggering plumbing bills in their twilight years.

If we can unite our brethren in Washington and force passage of Plumbicare, the way will be clear for Electricare, Autocare, Teeveecare, and then the ultimate goal of our welfare state, Embalmicare.

Silly? . . . Well perhaps, but no more so than what irresponsible politicians propose as Medicare.

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'The Pale Cast of Thought'

Cuban Current Turns Awry

From the Richmond *News Leader*

And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pitch and moment,
With this regard their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action. . . .

—HAMLET.

One reads the news of Cuba with a sense of dull despair. Out of the very jaws of victory, once again we snatch defeat. The brilliant sun of October fades, the grey November fog creeps in:

> Stevenson met for 3½ hours last night with Kuznetsov and said the talk was "constructive." He said it "served to identify and clarify the positions of both countries on the unresolved issues."

And so the missiles, or some of the missiles, or some objects that from a distance appeared to be missiles, go back to Russia; and we go back to the bargaining table. In a while it will be spring in another Geneva, and autumn again for our hopes.

What has become of the resoluteness Mr. Kennedy displayed on the famous night of October 22? Was this, after all, no more than campaign oratory? What has become of the incisive demands, the seven enumerated points? For the space of a few hours or days, the United States presented an image of strength. Mr. Kennedy stood up large—large as the powerful Nation he leads—and a shock-wave of sudden respect went rippling round the world. Our astounded neighbors in the Southern Hemisphere came rushing to his side. But the native hue of resolution, as Hamlet soliloquized, gets sicklied o'er by a pale cast of thought.

> Kuznetsov presumably presented the new Soviet-Cuban proposal to Stevenson. The American delegate was believed to have countered with the main US demands. . . .

Little by little, the melancholy truth emerges. The United States will not salvage from the Cuban crisis even a position of *status quo ante.* Things will not be as they were before. The missiles, presumptively, are gone. But what remains? Castro remains. And more: The submarine bases remain. The whole apparatus of Communist subversion remains. And to all of this something new has been added:

"The United States has told me," said U Thant to Castro, "that as soon as the dismantling of the missile system is verified, they would make a public declaration in the Security Council, if this is deemed necessary, that they would not maintain aggressive intentions against the Cuban government, and would guarantee the territorial integrity of Cuba. This it has asked me to tell you. . . . "

This it has asked me to tell you. We do not speak directly to Castro, in language he could not misunderstand. We speak through the UN's acting secretary general; we make overtures through the Red Cross; we clarify positions. We yield on the matter of on-site inspections. We do not board the missile ships: We peer through binoculars as a grinning Russian sailor hoists a tarpaulin. The Russians have dragged our Turkish bases back into the talks. Castro has renewed his demands upon Guantanamo. And, well, we will negotiate. We meet for three and a half hours, Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Kuznetsov, while the twilight settles.

Like the old soldier, the Cuban crisis does not die; it merely fades away. It slips into the nebulous limbo of Panmunjom and Geneva and Vienna, into a haze of proposals and counter-proposals, and counter-proposals to the counter-proposals. Soon come the US concessions, the Russian rejections, the whole familiar pantomime to be acted anew. This month the roles are played in Cuba. Next month: Berlin.

Reprints of this section are available: Single copy 20 cents; 10 for $1; 25 for $2; 100 for $5; 500 for $20; 1,000 for $30. Order by section number and date of issue.

'Hordes of Premature Pensioners'

An Associated Press story with a London dateline reported November 10:

The ambition of Britain's male high school seniors is a nice, safe job with a pension at retirement.

Alarmed at this apparent lack of ambition in the welfare state, a London headmaster said in reporting this:

"Nobody wants to be at the top of anything."

G. Fielden Hughes, headmaster in suburban Wimbledon, wrote his findings and conclusions in *The Director,* a magazine for executives.

He said he was discouraged to find that not a single boy wanted to be prime minister, admiral of the fleet, field marshal, ambassador to the United States, archbishop of Canterbury or head of the Bank of England.

"Instead," he reported, "the boys look forward to becoming clerks, manual workers, draughtsmen and hairdressers."

The headmaster based his report on questionnaires the boys had turned in to government employment officers.

"We are turning out hordes of premature pensioners of life," Hughes said.

Canadian Boss Makes Offer

From the New York *Times*

Vancouver, B. C., November 16—Howard Mitchell, president of the Mitchell Press, has made an offer to the strikers picketing his plant here to set them up in business. He has offered machinery on lease, advice and a guarantee to buy the products.

The union, the Amalgamated Lithographers, has refused the offer, dismissing it as, "strike-breaking propaganda." Mr. Mitchell's proposal was made in reply to taunts from the union that if he ran his business properly he could afford to pay higher wages.

In a letter to Earl Kinney, the union's business agent, he said: "We would assist you with machinery, on lease, and would give every assistance to produce printing as a cooperative group, syndicate or joint stock company. Provided the quality and price were competitive, we would undertake to buy enough printing to cover expenses in rent, power and light."

Mr. Mitchell suggested that the $6,000 a month being spent by the union on strike benefits could be better used in the union's own printing business.

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Ceylon and Foreign Aid

From the Los Angeles *Times*

There is a certain fascination in Ceylon's forthright proposal in the United Nations to assess the "have" nations in behalf of the have-nots.

Time was when the have-nots expressed a modicum of gratitude for rehabilitation, industrialization and "progress" handouts.

The loan recipients were even willing to grant the benefactor nations the privilege of raising and distributing the money for foreign aid without supervision.

But Ceylon feels that such old-fashioned notions need to be regularized and brought up to date. The idea that rich, efficient fat-cat nations should be allowed to do as they please with their own tax money violates the "rights" of the underprivileged, the Ceylonese proposal says, in effect.

Briefly, the Ceylonese suggest that the welfare state be made international under UN auspices. They calmly urge that the United States pare $1 billion annually from its defense budget, and pay it to the United Nations for distribution to what Ceylon calls the "developing" nations. Russia would be tapped for a slice of its arms budget under the plan, but it is obvious that Ceylon's eyes are riveted on Uncle Sam's wallet.

After Ceylon's seizure of US private investments recently, this effort to continue to snare US bounty is a little startling, at first.

But maybe we do owe Ceylon something, at that, for the most succinct and definitive statement to date on the anatomy of gratitude.

JFK's Admonition

From the *AMA News*

Washington, D. C., *Evening Star,* referring to prominent classics scholar Edith Hamilton: "When Greeks began to ask service from the city, instead of to give service to it, the golden age of Greece began to decline. That is why Miss Hamilton was so interested in President Kennedy's admonition in his inaugural address, that Americans not ask what their country can do for them but what they can do for their country. But, she adds sadly, the President's whole program has been opposite to this philosophy. His point, she says, is for Americans to pay their taxes and let the government dole out the money as it sees fit."

What Underemployment?

When Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman classified their county as one having an "underemployment" problem in agriculture, the people of Rice County, Kansas, were amazed, according to *U. S. News & World Report.* Freeman's classification qualified the county for a Federal food stamp plan by which food can be distributed to the poor. One local rancher remarked, "This county never was in better shape. There have been three good wheat crops. Cattle prices are good. Oil is getting a big play. You can't even hire a man to sit around."

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Section Three
December 8, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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How Probers Tripped Up Alger Hiss

Some Other Memories Stirred by ABC's Nixon 'Obituary'

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Alger Hiss has publicly impugned the integrity of almost every public official associated with his conviction for perjury 12 years ago.

When he was invited to air his opinions of former Vice President Nixon on an American Broadcasting Company network program last Sunday night, he appeared not only as a convicted felon and disbarred lawyer but as the author of savage slanders against a host of respected men in public life.

HISS

He has attacked the American processes of justice and the instruments of free government. He has called them biased and corrupt, subject to political pressures, and capable of being perverted for political motives in the persecution of an innocent man.

The targets of his invective, denounced as conspirators in a monstrous plot to convict him on concocted evidence, have included:

Four Federal judges—the presiding jurist at his second trial and the three Appellate Court justices who rejected his appeal from a guilty verdict.

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the 263 FBI agents who worked on the Hiss case at one time or another, accused of Gestapo tactics.

Alexander Campbell, the assistant attorney general who worked with the New York grand jury which indicted Hiss for perjury in swearing that he had not transmitted secret State Department documents to a Russian spy.

Thomas F. Murphy, now a Federal judge, who, as an assistant United States attorney, headed the prosecution of Hiss in two trials.

The members of the New York grand jury which indicted him and some of the jurors in both trials who voted to convict him.

The members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, notably Nixon and Karl Mundt, now a senator from South Dakota, who played an active role in questioning him and exposing his initial falsehoods. All members of the committee, however, were included in a blanket indictment alleging bias and duplicity.

Hiss assailed, in addition, the vast majority of the American press, radio and television for "biased and inflammatory" reports which "pressured" congressional investigators and law enforcement agencies into manufacturing evidence against him.

MUNDT

NIXON

With the exception of the presiding judge at his first trial, whose hostile behavior to government witnesses excited comment, Hiss has never admitted the possibility that any man connected with his investigation and trials may have had worthy motives.

From the beginning, his most venomous attacks were leveled at Nixon, the committee member whose cross-examination finally brought about his retraction of an initial statement under oath that he had never known Whittaker Chambers. Chambers, an admitted agent for Russia, named Hiss first as a fellow Communist and later as a fellow spy.

It was that change in testimony—an admission that he had known Chambers intimately—which started Hiss on the road to prison.

No more prejudiced and discredited observer could have been found for a symbolic dance on Nixon's alleged political grave when the network shelved a Veterans Day program to stage a show by Howard K. Smith, an ABC-TV commentator, entitled "The Political Obituary of Richard M. Nixon," defeated four days earlier as candidate for governor of California.

Even Hiss must have been startled at the invitation. Lucky Luciano, the late vice lord, might have been similarly surprised if invited to comment to a national audience on the political career of Thomas E. Dewey, the man who sent him to prison, after Dewey's defeat for the Presidency.

The interview with Hiss was taped on Friday. Protests began flowing to the network when word spread of the proposed program and the Hiss interview emerged in censored form on Sunday night. Whether Hiss used stronger language which was eliminated remains unknown. He was shown cautiously groping for words, professing no feeling of "hostility" toward Nixon, but describing him as "politically carried along." He could not but feel, he said, that "political motivation played a very real part in Nixon's actions."

These careful words contrast with what Hiss wrote in 1957 when he published a 424-page book entitled *In the Court of Public Opinion*, in which he pictured himself as the victim of a "frame" by the United States government.

In that book, Hiss insinuated that Chambers, his chief accuser, was under strong "pressure" from Nixon to make false charges of espionage against him. For

Reprinted from the Chicago *Sunday Tribune* of November 18, 1962, with the permission of the Chicago Tribune Press Service.

Washington columnist Ralph de Toledano's *Seeds of Treason*, the true story of the Hiss-Chambers case, will be reissued this fall by Henry Regnery Company, 14 East Jackson Street, Chicago 4, Illinois (Great Debate Books, 300 pages, indexed, $2). The original hard-cover book by de Toledano and Victor Lasky has been revised and updated for the new printing.

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political purposes, he indicated, Nixon was willing to suborn perjury. Hiss' lack of "hostility" for Nixon was not apparent in this publication.

Hiss Attacks Judges

It can be assumed that Smith, a commentator of pronounced "liberal" complexion, was familiar with the Hiss book. His selection of Hiss as an analyst of the Nixon career may have established a precedent for summoning him for opinions about other Americans with whom Hiss has been in contact. Here are some of those published opinions by Hiss:

The late Judge Henry W. Goddard of the United States District Court, a veteran jurist of impeccable standing, who presided at the second Hiss trial, was accused of conducting the trial so as to "vitiate" its fairness and with being "lenient with prosecution witnesses and brusque with defense witnesses."

Judge Goddard's "discrimination in attitude," Hiss alleged, impaired the presentation of the defense. He was accused of many instances of partiality during the trial and with making a "one-sided" and "hanging" charge to the jury.

Judge Goddard's conduct of the case was approved by the United States Court of Appeals for the 2nd Circuit which upheld the conviction. Judge Harrie B. Chase wrote the court's opinion. Judge Thomas W. Swan and the late Judge Augustus N. Hand, one of the Nation's great jurists, concurred.

These three judges were accused by Hiss of being influenced by the House committee's campaign against him.

"Even in the disposition of the appeal," Hiss charged, "the pervasive influence of the committee played a major and unjustified role." Judge Chase's opinion showed the influence of the committee's "bias" and "tireless publicity" and he made "misstatements" of the evidence because of "uncritical acceptance of the committee's statements and point of view."

Judge Goddard was also assailed for denying the defense motion for a new trial. He showed, said Hiss, a "predetermination that in no circumstances must Alger Hiss be allowed a new trial."

"Like so many other events in the case, even the disposition of this motion had a political setting," Hiss wrote. He noted that Judge Goddard, a Republican, had denied the motion in the midst of the 1952 Democratic National Convention. The sinister implications of this timing seemed obvious to Hiss, since Adlai Stevenson, "one of my character witnesses," was a leading contender for the Presidential nomination.

Throughout his outline of a "conspiracy" Hiss pounded the theme that Republicans used him as a pawn to influence the 1948 and 1952 elections and to discredit through him the New Deal, the Yalta Agreement and the United Nations.

He found no contradiction in the fact that Assistant Attorney General Campbell, who conducted the grand jury investigation, and Assistant United States Attorney Murphy, the prosecutor at both trials, were Democrats.

Campbell, he charged, bowed to "political and press influence" in pressing for an indictment. Some members of the grand jury were "hostile" to him and smarting under criticism that they had been investigating espionage for 18 months without a victim.

Murphy was accused of "pervasive and unfair prejudice," with making "inflammatory and biased" statements to the jury, and with exploiting "prejudice and fear of communism."

The second jury which convicted him (after the first had split 8-4 for conviction) yielded, Hiss said, "to a longer period of prejudicial comment and national tensions." He added the opinion that the jury system is "little or no protection in times of public stress."

FBI Director Hoover and an army of FBI agents who dug up the material and witnesses which clinched the case in the second trial were charged by Hiss with impropriety in gathering evidence, in questioning witnesses, and in authorizing use of prejudicial material for the press.

The passage of years has eroded the memories of many Americans concerning the circumstances which led to imprisonment of Hiss for lying under oath about his services for a Soviet spy. To thousands of the younger generation, the facts of the Hiss case are virtually unknown.

In the last decade, moreover, a steady stream of published material has aided the Hiss campaign for vindication. A majority of eight books about the most famous treason-espionage trial of the century has been favorable to the defendant. Magazine articles appear periodically, depicting Hiss in sympathetic terms, arguing that he was the innocent victim of public hysteria about communism in 1948.

It was Hiss' 58th birthday when he appeared last Sunday on the television screen. He has lost much of the boyish appeal which persisted until he was 50 and which made a woman juror at his first trial, who voted not guilty in the split 8-4 verdict, enthuse: "I know that anyone so charming and with such a good face could not possibly have stooped to spying!"

But he was grave and circumspect in his choice of words, professing no hostility toward former Vice President Nixon upon whose "political obituary" he had been invited to comment. Reportedly barred from protesting his innocence of the crime, which Nixon was instrumental in exposing, he quietly made the point that "political motivation" inspired Nixon's moves against him thereby implying his own lack of guilt.

His "image," in the Madison Avenue argot, was that of a patient and reasonable man, bearing up without bitterness under injustice. There was no hint of the vitriolic diatribes he has published against all connected with his investigation and prosecution. He may have impressed many, like the woman juror, that such a man was incapable of treason.

A review of the evidence which led to his downfall is thus justified. It is a spectacular and memorable story, featuring the clash of two amazing personalities —Hiss and his chief accuser, Whittaker Chambers— and replete with color incidents—a pumpkin as a hiding place for microfilm, a dusty envelope stuffed with typewritten copies of State Department documents hidden down a dumbwaiter for 10 years, an old Woodstock typewriter and a prothonotary warbler, a rare songbird.

Joins New Deal

Few men in American life had brighter prospects for national eminence than Hiss when, at 44, he was exposed as a spy for the Soviet Union. His great talents were unquestioned. He had lean good looks, a brilliant mind, powerful sponsors and an ambition to reach the heights.

His public career had begun in 1929 when, at the age of 24, he was graduated *cum laude* from Harvard Law School and won the coveted post as law aide to the late Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. After a year in Washington, he engaged in the private practice of law in Boston and New York until 1933 when the New Deal Administration beckoned him back to Washington as assistant counsel in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Just when he succumbed to the Communist ideology remains unknown. But when Whittaker Chambers, a

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spy for the Soviet apparatus, was sent to Washington in 1934, he found Hiss, he testified, already a member of the "Ware cell" in the AAA. This was one of a dozen Communist groups operating in the government under the tutelage of Harold Ware, son of "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor, a celebrated Red heroine.

Chambers was also a man of gifts, later to reveal his talents as a writer, a linguist and a philosopher. He and Hiss became close and intimate friends. This intimacy, later challenged by Hiss, was to be proved by copious evidence at the trials.

Hiss agreed without question, Chambers testified, to procure government documents which could be photographed by Chambers with a Leica camera and then returned to the files. His first services came while he was on "loan" to a Senate committee investigating the munitions industry. He used his position to demand State Department papers, presumably for use by the committee, which were copied and sent on to Moscow.

The spying apparatus swung into 24-hour operation in 1936 when Hiss transferred to the State Department. Hiss accompanied Chambers to New York City where he was interviewed by Colonel Boris Bykov, head of Soviet intelligence in the United States, and arrangements were made for Hiss to purloin documents and get them into the hands of the Russians.

As outlined by Chambers, here is how Hiss operated: He would bring home a briefcase containing State Department documents. Chambers would visit the Hiss home in Georgetown in the early evening, take the documents, drive 40 miles to Baltimore, where the papers would be photographed in a workshop set up for that purpose, and then drive back to Washington. The documents would be returned to Hiss for return to the files next morning. The microfilmed copies were delivered by Chambers to Bykov in New York City.

Later, Bykov insisted upon a greater flow of material. Hiss was instructed to bring home a briefcase of papers each night, make typewritten copies of the material, and save them for the pickup by Chambers. Sometimes, also, important documents would pass through Hiss' hands at his office but he could keep them only for a short time. He took to making penciled copies of such papers or notes on their main points. These, he also turned over to Chambers.

The operation continued for almost four years until Chambers sickened of his role and in 1938 decided to break with his Soviet superiors. He pleaded with Hiss to join him but was coldly repulsed. Chambers, as a precaution against Soviet reprisals, then secreted a number of the typed copies, some of the penciled notes by Hiss, and several rolls of film, hiding them in the dumbwaiter of a relative's home in Brooklyn.

Chambers' Evidence

It was this material, dated January, February and March, 1938, which Chambers eventually dug out of hiding to save himself from the harassment of a $75,000 libel suit by Hiss. The magnitude of the spying operation over a four-year period was apparent when this three-months' supply was assembled in court. The developed films made a stack of documents two feet high. There were 47 typed copies of documents, in addition, and four memoranda in Hiss' handwriting. A State Department witness testified that some of these reports, 10 years later, were still too secret to be revealed and that they enabled the Russians to break this Nation's most secret code.

After the parting in 1938, Chambers and Hiss did not meet again for 10 years. Chambers became a $30,000 editor on the staff of *Time* magazine. Hiss soared to the top levels of the State Department, became assistant to the director of the office of Far Eastern affairs, eventually director of the office of special political affairs. He went to the Yalta Conference with President Roosevelt in 1945 and was secretary general to the founding United Nations conference in San Francisco later that year. In 1947, he resigned to become the $20,000 president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

In 1939, Chambers had made a futile effort to give his evidence of espionage in government to the White House. Referred to A. A. Berle, assistant secretary of state, he named Hiss and others as Communists. Berle was deeply concerned but President Roosevelt scoffed at his alarms. Chambers in succeeding years also told his story to the FBI but its reports were ignored.

Reluctant Witness

It was a reluctant Chambers who was summoned in 1948 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities to tell what he knew about Communist activities. The committee had no idea of the sensational evidence he was to give. Chambers knew he would be sacrificing his career and had no reason to believe that repetition of his story would bring anything but recriminations upon himself.

On August 3, 1948, he appeared before the committee and named Hiss and a number of others as men he had known as fellow Communists in the '30's. Chambers made no mention of espionage activities.

Two days later, Hiss appeared before the same committee and evoked almost unanimous sympathy as he indignantly denied the Chambers allegations. He gave a convincing display of righteous wrath as he swore that he had never laid eyes upon Chambers. He blinked at a photograph of Chambers in utter amazement. He had never known such a man. The whole story was a monstrous fabrication and he questioned the sanity of his accuser.

Two weeks later, after a personal confrontation with Chambers in the Commodore Hotel in New York City, Hiss confessed that he had known the man and known him intimately. He had entertained him a number of times as a guest in his home and had given him an automobile. But he had known him under another name—George Crosley—a "dead-beat" newspaperman and he had not known him as a Communist. (The defense was never able to produce anyone who had known Crosley.)

The story of how Hiss made that amazing change in testimony is one of skilled cross-examination of both Chambers and Hiss and of detective work by the committee staff which supported Chambers' story and cast doubt on Hiss' denials.

In the beginning, most members of the committee wanted to drop the Hiss case as quickly as possible. They were being widely assailed in the press. Hiss had called the roll of his supporters—Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, two Supreme Court justices, eminent diplomats, ambassadors, lawyers, admirals and generals. Most of them issued statements damning the committee for persecution of an innocent man on the word of an obviously unbalanced witness. Unsavory rumors depicting Chambers as a sexual invert and former inmate of an insane asylum spread through Washington.

But Nixon and Mundt, aided by Robert Stripling, chief investigator, prevailed upon the committee to continue the investigation. Either Chambers or Hiss was lying about one fact at least, they noted, which was susceptible of proof. This was the former acquaintanceship asserted by Chambers and denied by Hiss.

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Chambers was exhaustively questioned and gave such detail about the Hiss home and family life that conviction of his veracity grew among his listeners. One of the clinching incidents was Chambers' recollection of Hiss as a bird-watcher who had once seen a prothonotary warbler on the Potomac. Hiss, answering a seemingly idle question in a separate session, eagerly boasted of this feat.

Prothonotary warbler like the one Chambers said Hiss saw.

An old Ford car, once owned by Hiss, was described by Chambers, who said Hiss gave it to him and later to the Communist party. Hiss twisted and turned under questioning about this car, became confused about dates, and ultimately convinced the committee he was lying.

At this point, if he had chosen to admit knowing Chambers and toying with Communist doctrines at the time, Hiss would have been quickly absolved of blame in the Washington climate of that era. Instead, he boldly gambled. He challenged Chambers to repeat his charges outside the legal immunity of the committee room and thus subject himself to a libel suit.

Chambers promptly repeated his statement on a television program, again saying only that Hiss had been a Communist. After a month's delay, Hiss filed the libel suit in Baltimore. On November 17, 1948, at a private pre-trial hearing of this suit, Chambers produced the documentary evidence that Hiss had been more than a Communist. It revealed Hiss as a spy and a traitor.

Trail Leads to Pumpkin

Chambers had removed this evidence from his Brooklyn hiding place. He held back the microfilm rolls from the legal hearing. On December 2, under subpoena from the House committee, he led two investigators to a pumpkin patch, removed the films from a pumpkin where he had placed them two days earlier, and said, quietly, "I think, gentlemen, this is what you are looking for."

On December 15, Hiss was indicted for perjury on two counts. He was accused of lying when he said he had never turned over State Department documents to Chambers and when he asserted he had never seen Chambers since January 1, 1937. (The dates on the documents were in 1938.)

The first trial, lasting 38 days, before Judge Samuel H. Kaufman in New York Federal District Court, ended in deadlock, 8 to 4 for conviction. The second trial began November 17 before Judge Goddard. On January 21, 1950, Hiss was found guilty on both counts and sentenced to five years in the Federal prison at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

Fourteen months passed before Hiss entered prison. The United States Court of Appeals meanwhile had upheld his conviction and the Supreme Court refused to review the case. Petitions for a new trial were denied despite the offer of an argument that "forgery by typewriter" had been perpetrated.

Hiss served three years and eight months, with time off for good behavior, and was released November 27, 1954. He has since lived in New York City, held a high-paying executive position for a time, and is now a stationery salesman.

The campaign to vindicate him has never lessened. The theory of "forgery by typewriter" has been advanced again and again. This was an attempt to show that an old Woodstock typewriter owned by Mrs. Priscilla Hiss in the '30's had been replaced by a forged instrument in order to show that the stolen State Department documents had been copied on the Hiss machine.

Strangely, the typewriter was produced by the defense and it sat on a table facing the jury during both trials. But no witness was ever called upon by either side to testify that it was, or was not, the machine owned by the Hisses in 1938. Such testimony was not needed.

The Same Typewriter

Instead, expert witnesses established that the documents hidden for 10 years by Chambers bore the same typewriting characteristics as personal papers typed by Mrs. Hiss in the period. Such testimony has the same standing in court as fingerprint identification.

At both congressional hearings and trials, despite the mounting evidence against him, Hiss displayed a distinct arrogance in his contacts with members of Congress and government attorneys. He was bolstered in his confidence by repeated assertions from President Truman in the White House that the charges were a "red herring" designed to distract attention from the misdeeds of the "do-nothing" 80th Congress. Years later, after Hiss had served his prison term, Truman was to insist that he had no reason to believe that Hiss was a Communist spy.

An exhaustive analysis of the "forged typewriter" theory was recently published by Professor Herbert L. Packer, professor of law at Stanford University. While not unsympathetic with Hiss, Packer demolished the theory and also found, from an examination of the trial transcript, that Chambers' testimony was convincing and the jury's verdict justified.

This contrasts with an extraordinary work published by Earl Jowitt, former lord chancellor of Great Britain, who examined the transcript and found Chambers a liar and Hiss an honest witness. The Socialist peer left no doubt that he would have found Hiss not guilty.

Hiss' legal expenses during his two trials have been estimated at $100,000. Every dollar of this, according to the best information, was contributed by his supporters in Washington.

The propaganda efforts in his behalf continue unabated. His conviction stands as proof that treason existed at high levels in the State Department under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman and those who served with him from 1934 to 1947 remain determined that public opinion must be swayed to doubt of his guilt.

Former Secretary of State Acheson, after the guilty verdict, said he would never turn his back on Alger Hiss. Many who served with him in government dare not turn their backs on him. They were comforted when they saw him accorded the privilege of a national television audience and deferential entreaty for his views on the political defeat of a former Vice President of the United States.

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Section Four
December 8, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
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The Sudden Importance of Silver

By HANS F. SENNHOLZ
Chairman, Economics Department, Grove City [Pa.] College

In the last few years of dollar weakness the spectacular outflow of gold from the United States has attracted the attention of most economists. Even the Washington planners cannot deny the precarious position of the US Treasury in international payments. But while the US government continues to manipulate the gold situation through foreign gold loans, international standstill agreements, gentlemen's agreements and other symptomatic remedies, it now faces a situation that is potentially even more embarrassing than the international gold crisis. It faces a domestic dilemma in the form of a silent disappearance of all silver coins.

What would you do if the silver quarter in your pocket should soon be worth, let us say, 50 cents in silver? You probably will save it, melt it if you have the technical facilities or sell it to a silver dealer for 50 cents. At least you will store it as a purchasing power reserve which no future inflation can ever depreciate. You have genuine commodity money that is safe from the vicissitudes of inflationary policies.

This is what may happen soon to all our silver coins. The last few months witnessed rapidly rising silver prices which today (October 29) are quoted at 121.3 cents per ounce troy in the international silver markets. This means that the silver value of every US dollar has risen to 93.59 cents, the half-dollar to 43.7 cents, the quarter to 21.8 cents and the dime to 8.72 cents. When the market price of silver reaches 129.29 cents per ounce the silver value of all good silver coins is calculated to reach the stated money values. Above this price the silver value of the coins will be higher than the money value, at which time the coins will no longer be used as money, but sold and used as metal.

In economic literature this phenomenon is sometimes called "Gresham's Law," named for Sir Thomas Gresham, the financial adviser of Queen Elizabeth I, who is known to have explained this principle to the queen. It states that "bad money drives out good" where a government assigns the same nominal value to two or more different kinds of money whose market values differ. The "bad" money, in this case paper money, will be used as an exchange medium while the "good" money in the shape of silver will be hoarded. Although the law was named after Sir Thomas Gresham, he did not originate or formulate it. It was accepted economic knowledge already with the ancient Greeks.

Americans should not be surprised about this coming inflation calamity. Precisely 100 years ago the greenback inflation created a similar situation. The rapid inflation also caused silver prices to rise so that the people began to hold on to their coins which became more valuable as bullion than as medium of exchange. Their disappearance from payments in the summer of 1862 left a currency vacuum between the one-cent piece and and the one-dollar note. For a short time worn Spanish coins entered payments, but the continuous inflation soon drove them out also. In the midst of the Civil War boom, Americans found it rather difficult to make change for haircuts or newspapers.

All sorts of paper substitutes came into use. Banks issued half-a-dollar and quarter notes. Towns and cities issued small-change notes. Even business firms issued "shinplasters" in small denominations. Also the Post Office Department seized upon the opportunity and sold large quantities of special stamps, in denominations of 5, 10, 25 and 50 cents, ungummed and printed on both sides. And finally, the US Treasury printed notes in denominations from 3 cents to 50 cents.

Only 15 years later, in 1877, silver coins reappeared in payments. The monetary stabilization, the prospects of greenback redemption and the rising silver production depressed silver prices which caused subsidiary coins to become worth more as money than as metal. Thus they were used again in payments.

The present silver situation is conditioned by the same economic factors. In spite of growing world silver supplies its price has been rising ever since the coming of paper inflation in the 1930's. Also the uses of silver in art and industry have multiplied, which contributed to the rise in price. Its many uses now include silverware, jewelry, brazing alloys, electrical contacts, surgical supplies, bearings, silver nitrate, *etc.* And finally, the decline of silver mining in the most important producing country, Mexico, because of government expropriations and harassments of foreign owners, has tended to keep supplies smaller and lift prices higher than they otherwise would be.

But in order to understand the coin situation we need not only observe the silver market price and its causative forces, but also analyze the coins themselves.

Their weight and fineness were determined by their issuer, the US government. In the first coinage act of the United States (April 2, 1792) the silver dollar as a basic unit of currency in addition to the gold dollar, was defined as 371.25 grains pure silver. The silver plus alloy made up the standard weight of 416 grains. In 1837 this was reduced to 412.5 grains, without changing the pure content, which has remained the same to this very day. The smaller coins contained amounts of silver proportionate to the dollar. However, in 1853 Congress reduced the weight of the half-dollar to 192.9 grains, 9/10 fine, and that of smaller coins in proportion.

Today's one-dollar, half-dollar, quarter and dime thus weigh 412.5, 192.9, 96.45 and 38.58 grains, 9/10 fine, respectively. Now if the market price of silver per ounce troy (or 480 grains) is quoted at 121.3 US cents, the coins are worth in silver 93.59, 43.7, 21.8 and 8.72 cents respectively.

An oddity among US coins is the "silver nickel" issued during World War II. Because of the nickel shortage the Treasury decided to use 50% silver, 15% manganese, and 35% tin and zinc, rather than the standard composition of 75% copper and 25% nickel. At today's silver prices these "nickels" are worth some 8.72 cents in silver, precisely the same as a dime as their standard weight is double that of the dime and the silver content the same as the dime. If we add the market value of the manganese embodied in the wartime "silver nickel" to the silver value we arrive at a total metal value of more than 9 cents. It is obvious that these five-cent coins are withdrawn from monetary use as quickly as they can be separated from standard "nickels" and collected in large quantities for use by

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industry. Or they are saved by investors who like cash holdings in inflation-proof commodity money.

But while we know what the people are going to do with their coins whose metal value exceeds the money value, what will a socialistic or interventionistic government do when the silver coins disappear? Of course, it may attempt to outlaw all industrial uses of our coins and make silver melting a criminal offense. But such legislation is bound to be ineffective as it runs counter to human nature and cannot be enforced effectively.

The US government may also resort to the emergency measures of the Civil War. It may print 10, 25 and 50 cent notes. In fact, the temptation to do so will be very great as such printing would create a windfall profit to the Treasury. It can spend money merely at printing expenses.

Or the US government may decree a dollar devaluation as to silver. For reasons of popular politics this may be called "a necessary increase in silver price," "readjustment of US coinage," "meeting the requirements of circulation," *etc.* However, the fact remains that the US paper currency was depreciated until the silver coins minted in the past became more valuable as bullion than as money.

In this situation the US government, following in the footsteps of many foreign governments, may be tempted to seize and expropriate the old coins and issue new coins of lesser fineness. For instance, it may mint "silver dollars" of 50 per cent instead of 90 per cent fineness. This approach would follow the 1933 dollar devaluation when the US government seized the people's gold coins and reduced the content of the gold dollar. For popular effect the new coins could be made to be as big, heavy and shiny as the old coins.

Or, maintaining the old fineness, the coins may be reduced in size. But as such a solution would take a million coin-operated service machines out of operation and necessitate expensive readjustments, it is unlikely to be sought. It also would demonstrate too openly and drastically what is happening to the dollar.

Such government attempts at "solving" the coinage crisis should be vigorously opposed by all lovers of freedom. Any further curtailment of our freedom in monetary matters must be rejected immediately. And the power of government to depreciate the people's money should not only be checked but be reduced whenever possible.

This is why a government attempt at outlawing or controlling the uses of our coins must be repelled. The freedom of the people to save, hoard or exchange their coins must not be encroached upon.

This freedom of individuals to manage their own earned money in a way they see fit must especially be safeguarded in the present situation. When the silver-dollar becomes worth 101 cents or more in paper money the individual must remain free to hold and exchange it at its true value. The government must be prevented from expropriating it or outlawing any of its uses, including that of money.

If people stay free to use their silver coins they retain possession of relatively stable money. Loans and payments that extend over time could be based on silver dollars and bullion. Prices of goods may even be quoted in silver dollar prices in addition to the present prices stated in paper money. And while the latter would continue to rise because of inflation and credit expansion, the former would demonstrate a remarkable degree of stability.

Provided we stay free in silver matters the silver dollar would soon enjoy such a ready acceptance and popular demand that it would rise to a great premium over paper money. To assure the widest possible circulation and greatest benefits to all people, additional silver dollars should therefore be made available. There must be free coinage of silver dollars. Anyone who wants to buy a dollar should be able to do so against deposit of 412.5 grains of silver, 9/10 fine, or their market price, plus a coinage fee. The government mint may manufacture the coins, or better yet, private mints stand ever ready to buy and sell standard silver dollars.

Is it unreasonable for Americans to defend their freedom to hold, buy or sell silver dollars? Is it presumptuous to hope for continuation of a coinage initiated by the first US Congress? It will be a dark day for America when this freedom is lost.

The Shrinking Dollar

By SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

The American dollar shrunk more in September than in any other month in the past four years.

According to the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, the consumer price index jumped 0.6 per cent of a point in the 30-day period to reach a level of 106.1 per cent of the 1957-58 average.

In terms of the wage-earner and the housewife, this means that goods worth $10 in 1958 now cost $10.61 on the average. It means that the purchasing power of the American dollar is continuing to shrink at a time when it should be expanding.

In other words, the United States is beginning to pay through the nose for continued deficit spending on the part of the government.

And the end is not in sight. For the full impact on price inflation of the big $7-billion deficit in fiscal 1962 has not yet been felt. Nor has the impact of an expected $6- to $8-billion deficit in fiscal 1963.

The situation is serious and growing worse. Even members of President Kennedy's own political party are becoming worried and upset over the unchecked drive for more and more government spending.

For example, on the final day of the 87th Congress, Representative Clarence Cannon, Democratic chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, drew upon his long experience in the legislative branch to read the House a lecture. Here is what he said:

"Our gold supply situation is not on this morning's front pages, but it should be noted that it grows steadily worse. Our gold reserve dwindles sharply. We have lost $6.6 billion since the run on it started in 1958. Our persistent deficit in balance of international payments . . . laid the groundwork, but our ever-mounting public debt and the ever-declining value of the dollar continues to precipitate the draft on our gold. Foreign holders of our dollars are apprehensive. They are apprehensive about our unwillingness to live within the national income.

"Unless we show more respect for the value of the dollar—already down to 45 cents—they will beyond reasonable doubt call in the notes and demand payments on the mortgage. Foreign nations are in position to haul us up short if we continue to ignore the lessons of history."

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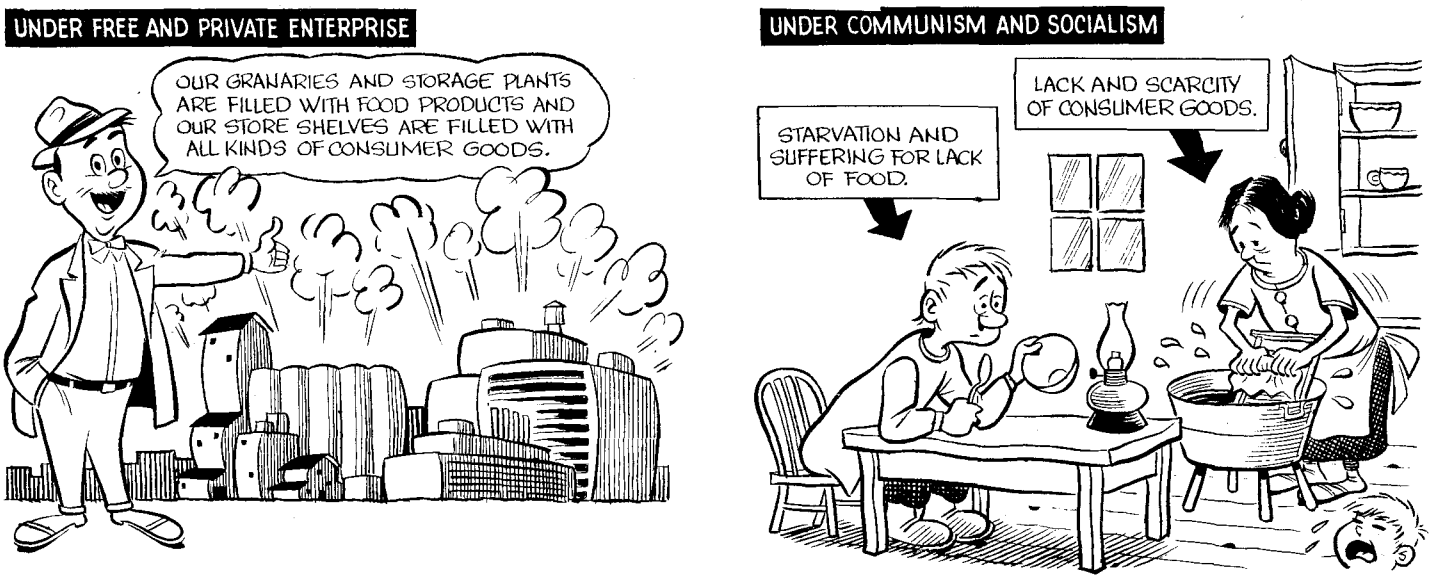
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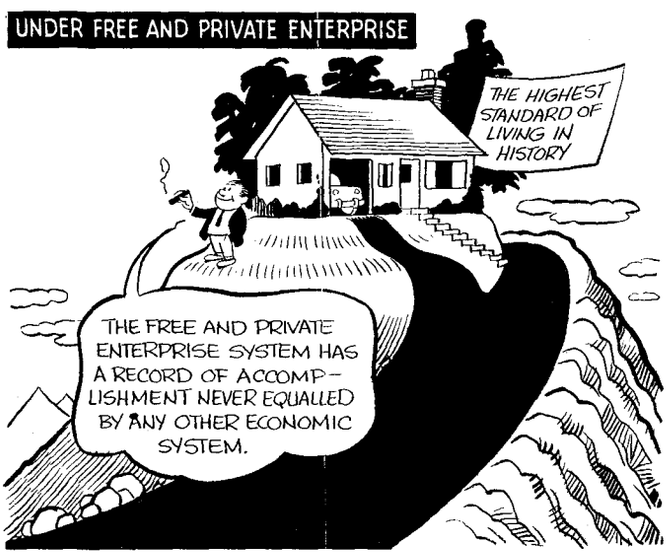
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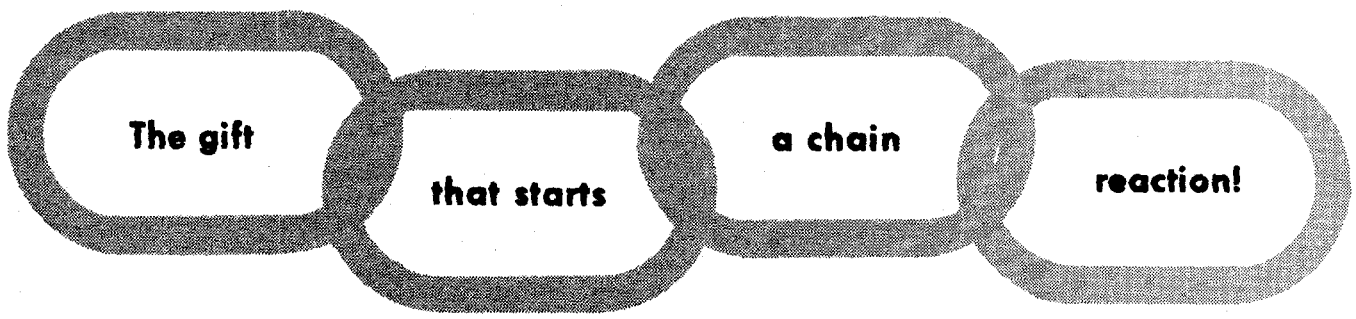

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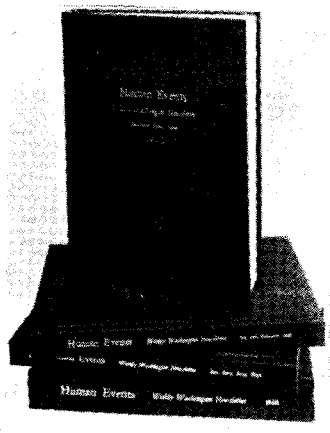

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Section Seven
December 8, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS

Your Weekly Washington Report

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Eleanor Roosevelt—An Appraisal

By GEORGE N. CROCKER
From the San Francisco *Examiner*

The obsequies are over. An extraordinary woman, Eleanor Roosevelt epitomized powerful trends in contemporary America, for good or ill. Of this we may be sure: the beautiful eulogy by Adlai Stevenson in the United Nations, and Soviet delegate Zorin's speech calling her death "an irretrievable loss," will not preempt serious evaluation.

The time has come for the historians to take over, and into the words and works of Eleanor Roosevelt they will probe, scratching and digging and assaying. For by making herself an inextinguishable symbol for 30 years, seldom letting the public forget her for a week and never allowing her influence on the temper of the times to flag, she herself assured that the historians would not casually dismiss her upon her death. We surmise that this famous lady, in whom there appeared no passion for anonymity or oblivion, would have wished it that way.

Nor was she one to shun controversy. If the irreverent shall attack her memory, we need not worry that there will be any lack of briefs for the defense. She wrote them herself, in 16 books.

Of great men and women, Lord Acton warned that they must be sharply judged. The time for chivalry ends quickly for a figure of such consequence as Eleanor Roosevelt. Otherwise, history bows to legend.

Charm, warmth and spirit radiated like sunshine. Less obvious was a political shrewdness so subtle it escaped the perception of most of her admirers. An examination of Mrs. Roosevelt's long occupancy in the White House reveals that she did not disdain the folkways of pressure politics and was, in fact, adept at infighting of a type she never mentioned at campus tea-parties.

In late January, 1945, after his fourth inauguration, President Roosevelt was far across the Atlantic on the Cruiser Quincy, bound for the fateful conference with Stalin at Yalta. Back in Washington, Mrs. Roosevelt was knee-deep in left-wing politics. As a post-election whimsy, Mr. Roosevelt had made one of the most anomalous nominations ever sent to the Senate for confirmation, that of Henry A. Wallace to be Secretary of Commerce. Wallace had become so bemused by pro-Communist elements that resistance to his appointment was strong even within the Democratic party.

This so moved Mrs. Roosevelt that she sent two urgent messages to her husband advising him what steps he should take to get the Wallace nomination through a reluctant Senate. By the time Admiral William D. Leahy, chief of staff to the President, published his memoirs in 1950, he felt free to divulge this confidence and to add ruefully that the attitudes of Mrs. Roosevelt and Mr. Wallace "were at that time not very different" and appeared to him to be "about equally impracticable." Obviously, 6,000 miles did not put Mr. Roosevelt out of the indefatigable First Lady's range.

Throughout the war years, she effused her quaint homilies across the land in her column "My Day," in which she interlarded her views on domesticity with her and her husband's attitudes toward the Soviet Union and its "great leader," Stalin. Her influence in conditioning the American mind was immense.

The intellectual climate of America during World War II, as it concerned Russia, was a blend of factual ignorance, naivete, wishful thinking and onrushing sentiment. Of the many who contributed to that climate, surely the voluble wife of the President was not the least; and in any definitive appraisal of her place in history this may overshadow everything else.

For how did it all end? Winston Churchill sat down to write his war memoirs, looked gloomily at the world, and began: "The human tragedy reaches its climax in the fact that after all the exertions and sacrifices of hundreds of millions of people and the victories . . . we lie in the grip of even worse perils than those we have surmounted."

In late years Mrs. Roosevelt's infatuation was with the United Nations. Here again, one fears, the facts of life never broke through.

Mr. Crocker, a San Francisco attorney, is the author of *Roosevelt's Road to Russia*, published by the Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, in 1959 ($5). Crocker's book is now available in the Great Debate Books series (316 pages, paperbound, $2).

FDR: Soft on Communism

From a letter to the Washington *Evening Star*

It was 49 years after the death of Washington before a memorial was erected in his honor. It was 57 years after the death of Lincoln before his memorial was commenced. Why are the promoters of the Roosevelt cult so anxious to memorialize their leaders before all available facts are made public? The papers involved in negotiating with Russia during World War II at Quebec, Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam have not yet all been made public. The evidence presently available is enough for serious concern as to whether a memorial should be erected at all.

The Appendix to the *Congressional Record* of September 22, 1950, contains an extension of remarks by Hon. Harold H. Velde (*Ill.*) on "The Communist Threat to America" by Martin Dies. (Martin Dies was the first chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.) According to this reference, on August 12, 1938, FDR told Dies in a private conversation, "Well, if you expose the Communists in the CIO, the CIO will turn against the Democratic party. If we lose the CIO in some of the Eastern States, we cannot win. . . . The Communists have just as much right in the CIO as anyone else." (The CIO later cleaned its ranks by its own actions.) Later, Martin Dies obtained the records of several thousand Communists, agents, stooges and sympathizers on the government payroll. Again, Mr. Dies had a private conversation with FDR wherein FDR became angry and said to Mr. Dies, "Well, I have never seen a man that had such exaggerated ideas about this thing. I do not believe in communism any more than you do but there is nothing wrong with the Communists in this country; several of the best friends I have got are Communists."

When one understands the "political opportunism" displayed in this conversation of August 12, 1938, and the ignorance of the Communists' tactics, strategy and objectives exhibited throughout the entire FDR Administration, one can see that it offers an explanation for the predicament that we are in today. With all due respect for the deceased, may the Roosevelts' souls rest in peace. However, we should scrutinize and change some of those policies established by the Roosevelts so that we can develop a better America and a better world.

—GEORGE H. MILLER.

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Millions of Personal Service Jobs Open

By JOHN FISCHER

The following extract is reprinted with permission from a much longer article entitled "The Stupidity Problem" in the September *Harper's*, which begins with a discussion of the faults of our educational system and concludes with the quoted section on how millions of jobs are open—if the unemployed are willing to fill them. A change of public attitude toward the personal service occupations is the primary requisite.

I am in a position to offer Mr. Kennedy some advice on one matter that seems to be giving him plenty of trouble: unemployment. After all, I have held, and lost, more jobs than he has, even though mine weren't so classy.

It is perfectly clear, to me at least, why Mr. Kennedy hasn't been able to find jobs for our three or four million unemployed. The human race—or anyhow that sample of it located in North America—no longer fits the kind of society it has to live in. Our society just doesn't have any jobs for certain types of people. If it continues to develop along its present course, the number of such unemployables seems likely to grow rather rapidly. Meanwhile, at the other end of the scale, an increasing number of important jobs will remain empty, because there aren't enough men and women able to fill them.

We might profit if we could change our national attitude toward certain kinds of employment.

From the earliest days of the Republic, most Americans have regarded personal service as somehow degrading. Hardly anybody wanted to be a housekeeper or cook, and those hapless widows who were forced into such work to avoid starvation usually did it bitterly and with little pride. Butlers and valets were legendary creatures who belonged in British country homes or Wodehouse novels, but had no place in democratic America. Waiting tables was, and is, so unpopular that many restaurants have to import their help from Europe or Puerto Rico.

These prejudices evidently are peculiar to America, not to democracies in general. In Switzerland, the oldest democracy in Europe, the profession of waiter is both honorable and much sought-after, while it is still possible to hire good-natured and efficient household help in Scandinavia, Ireland and Greece. (In England, however, the Americanization of society has made the butler and the maid almost extinct; those few who still exist there are mostly imported from Sweden, Italy and Eire.)

Whatever their origins, such attitudes are costly. Both the efficiency and the tone of American life would be vastly improved if personal service came to be regarded as an acceptable way to make a living. For we now have the curious spectacle of millions of people on relief, while at the same time millions of households are looking for desperately needed help—to care for elderly relatives, tend the children and help with the heavier chores. If such help could be found, countless women—many of them highly educated—could be freed for teaching and other understaffed professions . . . innumerable old people would not have to be condemned to nursing homes . . . any number of businessmen could save the energy now dissipated in shoveling snow, putting up storm windows and tinkering with balky plumbing. It might even become possible to get prompt and courteous service in the average hotel and restaurant—but no, that is carrying fantasy too far.

Such work demands no great intelligence and only a minimum of training. Yet it is scorned by nearly all the people on the unemployment rolls. That isn't our kind of work, they say—and relief officials ordinarily will not require their clients to accept any job opening outside their customary trade.

I have no idea how such ingrained attitudes might be changed. Perhaps it could be done by professionalizing service work, and thus removing the stigma of the servant. Already this is being attempted, with some success, by a few companies which send out crews of trained men and women to do spring housecleaning, household repair and the like. Their workers wear snappy uniforms, they work for the company instead of the householder, and they put in a regular eight-hour day; as a consequence they seem to feel more independence and self-respect.

No doubt there are many other and better ways to find useful work for the low IQ's, and to persuade them to do it. My main point is that nobody seems to be thinking about such things, because nobody is yet willing to admit publicly that the Stupidity Problem needs coping with. The steps taken by the Kennedy Administration to fight unemployment—new factories for distressed areas, retraining for technologically displaced workers, general stimulus of the economy—may be fine for their own purposes; but they ignore the special problem of the dullard. This is not only expensive, but dangerous. When you condemn people indefinitely to idleness and public charity, you condemn them also to frustration and bitterness—to the kind of discontent which may have a lot to do with the crime rate, drug addiction and political unrest.

It ought not to be beyond human ingenuity to create worthwhile jobs for these people, if we only set our minds to it. If we tended our forests, for example, as carefully as the Germans do, we would need millions of man-hours of not-very-skilled work—and we would increase enormously the value of a precious national asset. We could use a lot of muscle power in deferred maintenance of our dilapidated railways. We might even set a few hundred thousand men to work cleaning the litter off our streets and the beer cans out of our trash-clogged parks and streams. And we might start now to devise an educational system which will candidly train every youngster for a level of work that fits his intelligence, instead of pretending that each of them is potential college material.

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Company Decides Against Quebec

From *Barron's*

Quebec already is beginning to suffer the consequences of its provincial folly in flirting with socialism. The Kimberly-Clark Corporation decided not to build a $30-$40-million paper mill in the province, although it received assurances that the government would not interfere with its operations. Fully aware that no parliament can bind its successors, G. M. Minard, president of the Canadian subsidiary, scrapped plans for the mill, citing "surplus world capacity" as the reason.

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